THE ARTS OF GRANDEUR AND SUBMISSION.

OR

A Diſcourſe concerning the Behaviour of Great Men towards their Inferiours: *and* of Inferiour Perſonages towards Men of greater quality.

Written in Latin *by* Joannes Caſa *Arch-Biſhop of* Benevento, *Authour of the famed* Galateus concerning Manners: *and rendered into* English

By *Henry Stubbe* Oxon.

Quintilian. Inſtit. Orat. l. 11. *c.* 1.
Operum faſtigia ſpectantur, latent fundamenta.

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Licenſed

Jan. 25.
1665

Roger L'eſtrange.

To my very worthy Friend

Sr *Charles Lyttelton*, Knight, late Deputy-Governour of *Jamaica*, one of the *Cup-bearers* to His *Sacred MAJESTY*, and *Major* in the Sea-Regiment to his *Royall Highneſſe*.

Sir;

ALthough this *Treatiſe* may ſeem *impertinent* to a Perſonage of *your* Endowments and Worth; yet I could not but *Dedicate* to the *preſerver of my life* the firſt *Eſſay of my recovery*; and let you ſee that however I may be *unfortunate*, *neceſſitous*, or *weak*, yet I cannot ceaſe to be *acknowledging*. When I was in *Jamaica*, I had the honour of *your favour*; and I participated together with others the *happyneſſe* of that *Government*, which needed not the *caprichios* or *follyes* of any inſolent and unworthy *ſucceſſour*, to endeare it to the Inhabitants. When I was ſick,

you

you made me a part of *your care*: and when *my own reſolutions*, added to the *violence of my diſeaſe*, had inclined me to *Dye*, you *commanded me to live*: and that I yet retaine ſo much breath as to make this *profeſſion*, it is out of *obedience to your Authority*, as well as an *effect of your Tenderneſſe*. But I am not onely to render you thanks for that *being* I derive from your *Goodneſſe*: Morall Philoſophy teacheth me, and that more *ſolemnly*, to acknowledge the *Authour of my well-being*: and it is with all the *haſt*, as well as *Submiſſion* imaginable, that I teſtify my obligations to you for fixing me in the *Family* of the Right Honourable the Lord Viſcount *Mordant*, and eſtabliſhing *my repoſe* by the ſame *Loyall*, *Noble*, and *generous hands*, which have contributed *ſo much* to the *univerſall tranquillity* of this Kingdom. I have, at length, removed all the *umbrages* I ever lay under: I have *joyned* my ſelf to the *Church* of *England*; not only upon the account of it's being *Publiquely impoſed*, (which in *things indifferent*, is no *ſmall* conſideration: as I learned from the *Scotttſh-tranſactions* at *Perth*) but becauſe it is the *leaſt defining*, and conſequently the *moſt comprehenſive*, and fitting

fitting to be *Nationall:* wherein any *unprejudiced* perſon (not reſolved to miſtake *particular mens actions* or *opinions*, for *Church-Principles* and *errours*) may obſerve *all thoſe circumſtances* to continue in order to the *promotion* of *Sober Piety*, which the *Angels* proclaimed at the *Birth* of the *World's Saviour*, viz. GLORY TO GOD IN THE HIGHEST, PEACE ON EARTH; AND GOOD VVILL TOVVARDS MEN. In fine, it beares the *impreſs* of what is *Ancient*, and *Apoſtolique*, as well as *True*. I alwayes had a *reverence* for thoſe *Primitive Chriſtians*; and it is with a *ſincerity* not *unbecoming* them, that I *thus declare* my ſelf: and I believe you will admit this *deportment* to be the *beſt retribution* I could make *you*; ſince it *juſtifies your eſteem for me*, and *thoſe pretenſions* wherewith I am perfectly

Sir,

your moſt humble and
your moſt obliged-
humble Servant
Henry Stubbe.

Parſons-green
Apr. 25. 1665.

An

An Advertiſement to the Reader.

READER,

IT *was not with an intention to engage thy Judgement, that* Muretus *recommended this enſueing Piece as the beſt for it's* Stile *and* management, *that had been written ſince the time of* Cicero. *Our Authour,* Joannes Caſa, *Arch-Biſhop of* Benevento, *preferred this before his* Galateus: *and having penned that in* Italian, *he beſtowed upon* this Treatiſe *his more attentive thoughts, and that* language *wherein he ſurpaſſed* Bembus, Sadoletus, Longolius, Manutius, *and indeed all others but* Him *whom he choſe to* imitate. *He took for his example* Tully: *and deſigns the worke according to his*

his manner where he treats de Officiis. *I ſhall leave the Diſcourſe to recommend it* ſelf; *and onely informe you that I have changed the Title my Authour gave it into what it is, becauſe that however the word* Duty *may in ſome caſes expreſs the* Latine *word* Officium, *yet it is not* adequate *in* Engliſh; *and might be ſcrupled at by ſome* Supercilious *Reader. I obſerved that in this Treatiſe the* Documents *ſet downe are more then once called an* Art *and* Artifice; *whereupon I thought it no incongruous Title, to expreſs* De Officiis inter potentiores & tenuiores amicos Liber, *by* the Arts of Grandeur and Submiſsion, *reſpecting the ſenſe of the words, and Subject, rather then the genuine ſignification. Another thing I am to take notice of, is, That I uſe promiſcuouſly the words* Superiours, Great Men, and Patrons, *as alſo thoſe of* poor Friends, Servants, Creatures, Vaſſals *and* Dependances. *In which I have partly followed my* Authour, *and partly* amended *him in the* Engliſh; *which you will obſerve to become more* proper *and* intelligible *as I have* worded *it, then if I had* emphatically *reſtrained my ſelf to his* Amici, Tenues & potentes amici

amici, &c. *If these be no* Faults, *I have committed none, but what I durst justify to my* Authour, *and therefore make not a superfluous* Apology.

Farewell.

THE

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OR,

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I Have alwayes thought that our Anceſtors were freed from many of thoſe troubles which are to us both continuall and vexatious; in that they did not, as it is now our practice, retain in their Families, and in the number of their domeſtiques, any but ſuch as were

 abſolute

absolute Slaves, to serve them in the ordering of their Victuals, attending of their Persons, and other private exigences. For whereas Man is *naturally* proud, haughty, and much more quallified to command, than obey; it cannot choose but be a troublesome, and odious affair to be a *Master* over such whose *courage* is yet entire, and their *Spirits* no way *enfeebled*. And therefore I believe the ancients had no difficult or unpleasant task, to command over persons that were already *subdued*, and tamed by captivity, exchange of fortune, and hard usage, or from their infancy inured to Slavery. *We* have to do with men *Sturdy*, *Strong*, and as it were Savage, whom not only *Nature* inspires with an hatred against all *subjection*, but even the *freedome of their condition* impowers to resist their *Masters*. They have *rights* to pretend to, and are *capable of being injured*: which occasions quarrels and contests betwixt *them* and their *Masters*, and sometimes gives them the face of *Justice*. Thus distractions multiply; and we become perpetually embroiled. Nor can it be otherwise; since every man is a partiall Judge in his own case, and puts too great a value on his own performances. Thus it falls out as in auditing of accompts; they can never be ballanced duely, whilst more

The inconvenience of our usuall servants, if compared with slaves.

more is ſet down as *disburſed* than hath been *received.* Hence ariſe thoſe bitter expoſtulations and complaints; *I have ſpent my ſelfe in your Family*; *I have rendred you theſe and theſe conſiderable ſervices*; *you are redevable to me for the atchievement and glory of ſuch and ſuch enterpriſes.* And on the other ſide; *I have been your conſtant Patron and friend*; *you are obliged to me for your education and ſubſiſtence all this while*: *I have ſhewed you theſe and theſe particular reſpects, and rewarded you thus and thus.*

My own inclinations and common humanity made me eſteem it no unworthy or unagreeable deſigne, to prevent, and allay theſe ſo uſuall and troubleſome quarrels. Wherefore having oftentimes entertained my ſelfe with thoſe thoughts, I at length happened to ſet down certain precepts, and as it were *artificiall rules* for the management of that *mutuall relation*, and entercourſe which is betwixt *Great*, and *Inferiour perſons*: which from the reſemblance it hath with that of old, is called by the harſh name of *Service.* And this I did, to the end, that if I had not failed of my intention, both the *one* and the *other ſort of men* might receive ſuch directions, as if they dulypurſued, they might reap all the advantages aimed at in thoſe *mutuall relations*, and

The Authour's deſign in writing.

avoid the inconveniences which *generally* befall them therein.

Now, seeing that it is our businesse to deliver certain directions for our *conduct* in a particular way of combining, and associating of men together: and seeing there are severall sorts of *communities*, and associations of men, contracted upon sundry, and different grounds: It is necessary that first of all we distinguish and separate from all others that kind of *Society* whereof we intend to treat; to the end, that although there be some universall precepts which equally concerne all, and the explication whereof is too large a theame to be handled at present, yet such rules as especially appertain to this subject, and mainly conduce to those aimes we now propose to our selves, may be distinctly and plainly set down.

Severall sorts of relations and dependances amongst men.

Nothing done by men without some designe, or end.

There is *no action* of *man* which is without *designe*; and it is in vain to imagine there is any so *good natured*, as that their *visits* and friendships are without *particular ends*, which though they are not alwayes in our thoughts, yet doe they nevertheless insensibly rule us, and *influence* us in all our enterprises. All Societies, applications, and addresses are made either with an intention to *delight* us, or *advantage*

vantage our ſelves in the acquiring of *things neceſſary*, or of *Power*, or of *Riches*, and ſuch like; or the *improving* our *preſent acqueſts*, or elſe *ſecuring* them unto us: or elſe wee propoſe unto our ſelves the conſiderations of *Vertue*, *Juſtice*, and *Gallantry*, and accordingly frame our comportment. Under the firſt ſort (that I may illuſtrate it by examples) all laſcivious actions, and amours, and ſuch as are tranſcendently called *pleaſures*, are compriſed. The ſenſe of *common Utility* and profit is very comprehenſive, and includes all the motives wherupon all *Eſtates*, and *Republiques*, all *Corporations*, and *Companyes* are erected. For men embodie together in Commonweales, Cities and Corporations, to the end that being thus united they may live ſafe, and protected from forraigne dangers, and domeſtick inconveniences: thoſe other *Fraternities*, and *Societies* of an inferiour rank to theſe, are inſtituted upon hopes of *extraordinary advantage*, and gaines. Under the third ſort is contained that *friendſhip* and *amity* which is managed by *vertuous perſons*, not eſtabliſhed upon *particular advantages*, but reſentments of integrity, praiſe and decency.

The ſeverall ſorts of relations or Societyes, whereon grounded.

Inferiour and ordinary perſons when they

The reaſons why meane perſons apply themſelves to great ones: and why great men retaine them.

apply themſelves to the friendſhip of *Princes*, and *Great men*, and alſo *Great perſonages*, and ſuch as are *eminent* for *power*, or *wealth*, when they careſſe or admit into their Cabnets and familiarity ſuch as are *obſcure*, *inconſiderable*, and of little intereſt: neither the *one* or *other* intend by thoſe applications *Honeſty* or a *good mine*: no, they ſcarce ſo much as make that any part of their regards: but they *principally*, or *only* purſue therein either *profit*, or *pleaſure*. All which is evident, in that *meane perſons* propoſe not to themſelves the ſervice of the *Juſt*, the *good*, the *valiant*, or *beſt tempered men*, but (if they have opportunity to contrive and chooſe their relations) they joyne themſelves to the *Rich*, to the *Powerfull*, and ſuch as are *favourites of the Court*, and *populace*: and having *made their own fortunes*, as if they had never entertained further thoughts, they *retire*, or at leaſt covet to diſengage themſelves. Neither doe the *Great*, *Rich*, or *ambitious Potentates*, employ, or oblige ſuch as are of a *ſevere* and *inflexible vertue*, but ſuch as are *diligent*, *induſtrious*, *ſubtile*, of a *popular* not *rigid honeſty*. A *moroſe integrity* with them is as odious, as *Bigottery* in *Religion*: it may make the *practiſers* of it *admired* at beſt, rather than *employed*,

ed, or *confided* in. Wherefore I ſhall omit all thoſe harangues which relate to *True* and *ideated Friendſhip*, when *agreeableneſſe of manners* and converſations doth unite *vertuous perſons* together in a firme love, and friendſhip. Theſe are as remote from our purpoſe, as are the ends thereof from thoſe purſued in that friendſhip which we now treat of. Things of ſo different natures are not regulated by the ſame precepts: nor can they be reduced under one head, which are ſo disjoyned in their deſignes, and management.

There is a further ſubdiviſion of humane Societies: for they are contracted either betwixt *equals*, as betwxt *Brother* and *Brother*; or betwixt perſons of a *diſproportioned rank and eſteeme*, as betwixt *Parents* and *Children*. It is of great importance in the conduct of our affairs, to underſtand the nature of that *Society* and *Friendſhip* wee are engaged in: for howſoever the world may give to all one *common name*, yet are the *motives* which *eſtabliſh* them, and the *obligations* to proſecute and *continue* them, very *different*: and in the engaging therein, and interruption thereof, there is oftentimes neither that *weakneſſe of judgement*, nor *inconſtancy*, nor *ingratitude*, that men of

It imports much to know the grounds on which Socyeties are founded.

ſmall diſcretion, and inſight into things, doe imagine.

It is not to be queſtioned under which branch of the laſt ſubdiviſion the *Friendſhip* we treat on, is compriſed. Every one ſees that it relates unto the latter ſort. But as evident as it is, that it intervenes only betwixt perſons of a *different ranke*, yet do moſt men either not *regard* that conſideration, or not *remember* it throughout the courſe of their life. It behoves us therefore to fixe and determine what that *generall aime* and ſcope is, which wee propoſe to our ſelves in this ſociety and confederacy, and according to which we ought to forme and *conduct* our *actings*: leſt by miſtakes and miſapplications we *faile* in our projects, and *wrongfully condemn* others, or render *our ſelves* lyable to *cenſure*.

The relation betwixt Maſter and ſervant, Lord and vaſſal, is betwixt perſons of unequall degree.

It is not in this as in other caſes, wherein *Learning*, *Age*, *Nobility*, or *intrinſique worth* and *vertue* is conſidered: no, theſe are not the *grand inducements* unto, and Pillars of *this Amity*, but only *Riches*, *Dignity*, and *Power*. And it were to be wiſhed that *all theſe* ſhould *concur*, to the end that the friendſhip might be the more *firme*, wherein thoſe ends mankind propoſeth to it's ſelfe in theſe circumſtances

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ſtances, may be all obtained, and no pretenſe remain for the diſſolving, and interruption thereof. But however, it behoves us to conſider, *upon what grounds* our *mutuall relation* is *contracted*, and not only *what we deſign*, but what *they may expect*; and accordingly *enſure* our ſelves: ſince, not according to the *greatneſſe of our own hopes*, but the *generall anſwering of all theirs*, this ſort of friendſhip is eſtabliſhed, and continued. Let us therefore not indulge our ſelves in phanſies, nor attribute more to the reſueries of ſpeculative men, nor principles framed in *Studies* & *Hermitages* by perſons unacquainted with the practice of the world (which alone is the *rule* of *prudent* and *performing* men; and which alone gives actons the repute of being *Honourable* and *Diſhonourable* abroad) than to the conſtant courſe of humane affaires, in which we may daily obſerve, that upon any great *alteration of fortune*, the whole *nature* and condition of *this friendſhip* is *changed*; and it is not more true, that many are reduced to the *ſame levell* with, and even *below* their *former equals* and inferiours; then it is, that they likewiſe are *enforced* (notwithſtanding any *previous friendſhip* of the nature afore-mentioned, and without any diſparagement to ſuch as *admit* of this *viciſſitude*) *to revere, court* and *complement* ſuch as before were *their creatures*, and *at their devotion.*

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devotion. In all which accidents there is nothing ſtrange, but the *alteration of Fortune*; with which *ſuch extravagances* are uſuall, in advanceing, equalling and debaſing men: and they who underſtand themſelves comply with her diſports, and accordingly demeane themſelves, *Caſes altering, but not they*. Wherefore in all Communities, and Leagues of Friendſhip, let this be a generall and infallible direction, *That every perſon engaging therein, throughly examine the deſigne and ends upon which he and others enter thereon; and let him carefully inquire into his own condition and abilities, and impartially judge how much he doeth contribute to the upholding of that amity: and accordingly as he findes himſelf to be of importance to the other contractors, and ſubſervient to the ends they have in ambitioning his friendſhip, ſo farre let him value himſelf, and expect to be valued.*

A generall rule to be obſerved in contracting anydependance.

But it is uſuall with men to caſt up their reckonings otherwiſe, and they are thereby precipitated into great errours and abſurdities. Wherein I would willingly undeceive them, that they might not give themſelves and others the troubles they perpetually doe. Wherefore as often as they ſhall enter upon thoſe debates, they ought to remember, that it is *not every thing* which

which ought to be *put into the Scales*, but only *Riches* and *Power*. Foraſmuch as upon this account only, and none elſe, is the relation to *rich*, and *powerfull* men ſought after, and acquired; and we *ſubject* our ſelves to them in this manner, becauſe of their *Riches*, and *Power*. It is but fitting therefore that ſuch as are *ſenſible* of the calamities that attend *poverty*, who are *weary of being miſerable*; ſuch, the meaneſſe of whoſe condition is become *inſupportable* to them, and who cannot create themſelves a *better fortune* without the *helpes of others*, and that power which another muſt thoſe *impertinences*, and not place *too great a merit* in their extraordinary *wit*, *Nobility* or *Learning*, (which yet I deſpiſe not; and) wherein they themſelves put *no great confidence*, as to *hope*, or *demand*, that in *regard of them*, they ſhould be equalled or preferred before *thoſe others*. But perhaps they will ſay, *We are the better men: We exceed them in point of behaviour and vertuous deportment. Our Families are the more ancient, and Noble: In Learning we ſurpaſſe them. There is but one advantage they have over us, and that they are obliged for to their Fortune, not deſert; had any thing but that blind Goddeſſe, and chance (propitious to none but ſuch as muſt abſolutely depend thereon for their felicity) diſtributed thoſe favours, we had deprived them thereof, or at leſt diſputed them.*

them. It is well for them, that prosperity is not alwayes the attendant of vertue: and that there is some way to felicify those who deserve nothing, and apprehend nothing. I allow all this; nor doe I silence their objections, by telling them they are *partiall* to *themselves*; that they ought to give *others* leave to judge of *their good qualilites*, and examine *their particular defects*: I grant them all they pretend to; and being thus liberall in my concessions, I must yet tell them, that in *this kind* of relation and friendship, all that they insist on is *frivolous*, and not to the purpose. It was none of those considerations that endeared them each to the other: It was *Riches* and *Power*: It is *from hence* that *those* have the *preheminence*: and the *want of them* necessitates the *others* to *submission*. Either these *tearms* ought not *at first* to have been *accepted of*, or not to be *controverted afterwards*. There was *formerly* a *Law* amongst the *Æthiopians*, that they should make him King amongst them, who was the *tallest person*. I would faine know if this Law had not extended so farre as to punish any *proud Pedant*, or *Philosopher*, that should have ambitioned the *Crown*? Yet is it true that *wisdome* is to be preferred before an *extraordinary Stature*: and it imports more a Nation, that their *Prince* be endued with *knowledge*, than *bulk of Body*: All this is *true*; yet since the

Laws

Laws of the *Æthiopians* have a particular regard to *Tallneſs* of Body; the *Laws* muſt take place; and *Tallneſſe* muſt be perferred. So it is with us: we muſt acquieſce in thoſe conditions which *uſage* and *cuſtome* hath enacted, and which *we our ſelves* (as a part of that multitude which gives Laws and Cuſtomes without comptroll) have *ratifyed*. For ſo farre ought we to be from adding ought to what hath been appointed, and from giving a *value* to *any thing* (howbeit otherwiſe very conſiderable,) where *cuſtome* hath given it a *diſrepute*, or *contempt*; that ſometimes theſe kind of *acceſſionals* become *derogatory*. This, that *modeſty* which becomes a *Virgin* in a *Cloyſter*, is criminall in a *Curteſan*: for ſince the eſteeme of a *Curteſan* depends upon her ſpritely ayre, amorous geſtures, aſpect, diſcourſe and dallyances: All that carryage, all thoſe graces, addreſſes, mine, and Language, which recommend a *beautifull Virgin* or *grave Matron* to our *admiration*, are unbeſeeming in a *Whore*: and *laſciviouſneſs*, how criminall and odious ſoever it be elſewhere, makes up her *praiſe* and *merit*. Upon no other ground than this, was it decreed in ſome *Commonwealths*, that thoſe Citizens whoſe *vertues* were *tranſcendent*, and not of a *popular alloy*, ſhould be *baniſhed*, though *innocent*: nor was this procedure much condemned by the great Philoſopher

pher *Ariſtotle*; ſince, in thoſe *Republiques* all things were managed in a *regular way*, and all eſtates and intereſts reduced to a *temperament*, it ſeemed juſt even to *confine vertue it ſelf*, and limit her within a *mediocrity* ſtricter than *nature* ever placed her in. Let us then accuſtome our ſelves to yeild that *precedence* and *quality* to *Riches* and *Power*, which *uſage authenticates*: let us be ſo *wiſe* in theſe friendſhips, as not to place an undue value upon *Nobility*, *Learning* or *Vertue*. Let us at length behold all ſuch as *refuſe thoſe termes* (of which there is a great number) as we would *turbulent* and *unreaſonable perſons*, who are as *troubleſome* in their *friendſhips*, as the *ſeditious* are in *States*.

Thus it is manifeſt, that in theſe kindes of aſſociations, ſuch onely are comprehended as are *different in power and riches*: and the *bonds* of them are not a *particular* affection and *love* each have for others, but *utility*. From whence alſo it is concluded (which was before aſſerted) that they are *much miſtaken*, who think that this ſort of friendſhip hath *any affinity* with, or ought to be managed according to the principles of *true and exact friendſhip*.

Truely thoſe men are very much deceived, and guilty of an *intollerable overſight*, who exact in theſe aſſociations, thoſe *ardours and deep concerns* which are onely to be found in *vertuous*

tuous friendſhips. Thoſe people ought to *diſtinguiſh* amidſt ſuch a multiplicity of *relations* as encumber and aſſociate men one with another; and not expect to finde *every thing every where.* For, that any man ſhould *demand* or *imagin* that *another* ſhould quit his *own advantage*, and abandon his particular profit, to *ſerve him* and *procure his*, and this in *ſuch* a friendſhip as is eſtabliſhed upon *mutual conveniences*, is a *folly* no *conſidering* perſon will fall into, or *preſume* upon.

It is obſervable, that in *this ſort of friendſhip* both partyes propoſe not to themſelves the *ſame advantages:* but *great perſonages* expect from thoſe that are *indigent* and *inferiour* to them, *ſervice*, and an *awefull regard:* on the other ſide, *neceſſitous perſons* purpoſe to acquire *Riches* and *Honour* from Thoſe that are poſſeſſed of Wealth and Dignity. For they which are *wealthy* propoſe not to themſelves by this retinue any further *encreaſe of riches*, but they underſtand that the *addreſſes* and *dependance of inferiour perſons upon them*, not onely *augments their ſplendour* and glory, but is *beneficiall* to them in their *domeſtique employments*, and hath other conveniences, beſides the *particular ſatisfaction* they finde therein. Thoſe that are *inferiours*, by reaſon of their *poverty* and that *contempt* which attends it, ſeeke not onely their *ſuſtenance* and *advancement*, but

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protection in *rich* and *potent* families.

He that depends upon, or makes use of others, ought to understand their humours and inclinations.

Since that things are in this posture; as in all other affairs, it concerns us much to know the *qualities* and *inclinations* of those men we *negotiate* with, so it will not be amisse, in these circumstances, to make a diligent inquiry into the *nature* and inclinations of those persons with whom wee live, that we may either *accommodate* our selves to their humours, or *refuse advantages* that are not to be procured but on such *difficult termes* as we cannot submit to. In this inquiry it is not necessary that we should be very *curious* and *exact*, since *a generall account*, and such as is *commonly* if not *universally* true, will satisfie: and indeed the *humours* of particular men are so *infinite*, that if it were requisite to be acquainted therewith, the thing were not feasible.

The character of the humours of Rich men.

To begin with a character of those which are *Rich*; they are generally inclined to *pride*, and *contempt of others*: for they live as if they were masters of whatever the world calls *good*; and abounding with *money*, according to which *all things* are *valued*, and which is the *equivalent price of all things*, they imagine *nothing* to be *above their reach*, and indeed, not

not *already in their poßeſſion.* The *world* is but a *great market*, in which every thing is *ſold*; the *opulent* ſuppoſe that whatever they can *buy*, is no great *tender*, if given; that no *preſent* can be made, which if it were to be *purchaſed*, would be *too coſtly* for their exchecquer. And conſequently, *where no expenſe is great, no acceſſional is ſo conſiderable as to oblige the receiver to an extraordinary reſentment.* Thus they apprehend themſelves already poſſeſs'd of *happyneß*; and that they may *communicate* it to *others*, but not *derive* any *from them.* Beſides, they behold all men (eſpecially that have the reputation of *prudence*) to ſet themſelves *wholly* upon encreaſing *their eſtates:* they ſee it to be an *indiſputable point*, that the *rich man* is never out of *eſteeme* and repute; nor can *loſe his intereſt*, but with his *fortune:* that *indigent vertue* is rather *admired*, then *followed*; and that *without riches* it *ſeldome procures*, and *never can maintain* its *eſteeme.* And as for *Power*, it *wholly* ſubſiſts by *large revenues*; and vaniſheth without *full coffers*, or a *proportionable credit*, which muſt be made good by an *ample treaſury* at leaſt. Hence they conclude, they may juſtly bear themſelves *high*, being already owners of what *all covet*, all men *admire*, and *without which* even they who *vilifie* it cannot *ſubſiſt*, or effect any great exploit. Nor doth it a little adde to their *arrogance* and *inſolence*,

that many are unavoidably forced to apply themſelves *to them*, and petition for *many things* at their hands. Nor are they free from the vanity of thinking that *their riches* entitles them to *Empire*, and that it is for *theſe treaſures*, wherewith they abound, that *Soveraignety* is ambition'd. Thus *great riches* are attended with *vain-glory* and *inſolence*: nor are theſe the onely *defects* of the *opulent*, for it is ſo difficult for men not to be *tranſported* with *good fortune*, that we may reckon *petulancy*, and a peculiar kinde of *wantonneſſe* which is *unexpreſſible* to be *another* of their *vices*. They are alſo addicted to *luxury*; and where *delicacy* is not the nature of *the men*, it is their *practiſe*; becauſe the *oſtentation of happineſſe, is a part of it*. In fine, *great riches* are *never without*, and oftentimes *create great follies*: but Civill *happineſſe depends upon them*; and *good fortune* is ſo inſeparably annexed to them, that even in *common ſpeech*, by thoſe *great fortunes* which befall us, we underſtand nothing but *great riches*. All theſe *Vices* in *rich men*, more *notoriouſly* affect ſuch as have *newly acquired* their riches, then thoſe to whom they have *deſcended by inheritance*. For *cuſtome* takes away the *admiration* and *value* we frequently have for things; and the *eaſineſſe* of the *purchaſe* leſſens our *eſteeme* for them: beſides, who

The humours of men newly made rich.

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are *ignorant of the miſeries* of an *irrelieveable condition*, & of the *benefit* that ariſes from *ſmall ſupports therein*, or univerſall *deliverance* from it, underſtand not the *happineſſe* they enjoy *themſelves*, and conferre on *others*. But ſuch as are *ſenſible* with howmuch *care* & *induſtry*, or *unexpected good fortune* (which happens but to ſome) they *enriched themſelves*; who retain a *perfect memory* of their *wants*, and the *miſeries* it occaſioned them, and the *poore* and *neceſſitous thoughts and actions* it put them upon; they are ſurpriſed with the *change* of their eſtate: and as men newly eſcaped from *precipices* and as yet filled with *horrour and affright*, magnify their *paſſed dangers* beyond reaſon, ſo doe they too much *exalt* their *preſent enjoyments*, and *too overly* behold the *miſerable* and the *poor*. Whereunto if we adde this other circumſtance, that thoſe who arrive to theſe *ſuddain riches*, are neither men of any *education*, nor *inſight into the nature of things*, nor acquainted with the *humours* of men whom they *retain* or *converſe* with; we will leſſe wonder at thoſe *follyes*, and that *vanity* which their *former ignorance*, *meane ſpirit*, and ſo vaſt and *unthought of* change of *fortune*, (requiring a *novell garb*, *addreſſes* & *parts*; which they are not accuſtomed unto) produces in them. Examples whereby to verify and illuſtrate this *character*, are obvious in the City of *Rome*, and elſewhere.

If any think they are injured by this *character*, and suppose themselves free from the *vices* we impute to them; they apprehend not things aright, since the *universality* laeves roome for *particular exceptions*, and whileſt the *usuall defects* of *rich men* are set down, occasion is given for them to glory that they are not such.

The humours of men in power.

As for the *manners* of such as are *of great Power and Authority*, they are partly agreeable with *thoſt of the rich*, already mentioned; partly they are *better*: they being commonly endued with a *manly spirit*, *courage*, *activity of mind*, and an *inceſſant desire of glory*: And as in the atchieving of high *enterprises*, the *concurrence* of others is necessary; So it is to the celebrating of their *praises*, and compleating of *their honour*, which is nothing but the *opinion others have of their deserts*; and supporting *their power* and *interest*, which is *insignificant* without a multitude of *firme dependences*. Whereupon they comport themselves rather with *gravity*, then *insolence*, towards their *inferiours*.

The humours of the poorer sort.

And thus much may uffice for the *humours* of such as are *rich*, and *powerfull*: The *poore* and *needy* are *sufficiently* described in *their natures*, if I adde that they are *directly opposite*

poſite to thoſe *others* already *character'd.*

Wherefore thoſe *poor people* which depend upon *rich*, and *Potent* perſons, ought to reſolve with themſelves to *beare* with all their *inconveniences*, their *contumelies*, *injuries*, and *follyes*, and not only to employ their *patience* in *enduring* them, but their *prudence* to *conceale* them: and *enforce* their *inclinations*, if poſſible, to *love* them; which if they cannot doe, they muſt make it *their care* to pay them all thoſe *regards* and *ſervices*, which the moſt *affectionate* would; for it is *naturall* for them to deſire every one ſhould *love them*: it being a certaine *acknowledgement* of their *worth*, and a *teſtimony* rendred of their *agreeable carriage*, when they are *beloved*: it being impoſſible for a man to *affect* a perſon whom he *approves* not of. Thus *rich men* arrogate all things to themſelves, and are extraordinarily pleaſed with the addreſſes, and reſpects of their friends, who are in this caſe as ſo many *deponents* for the worth of the *Grandee*.

Poor dependants, how they are to deport themſelves to wards their Superiours.

But it is a difficult matter to comply with the *impertinencyes* and *follyes* of *theſe men*: and to *love* a perſon whoſe *foolery*, and defects are ſo *palpable*, that he muſt be *ſtupid* who *ſees* them not; and

They are to beare with their defects and follyes.

worſe who *approves* them. All *this is true*, but ſince, as *Tireſias* in *Horace* ſayes,

Since you cannot your ſelfe ſupply,
But on another muſt relye:

You *muſt* ſubmit to *all this*, and endure thoſe conditions *patiently*, which you cannot otherwiſe *decline*. Wherein you ought ſo much the leſſe to ſcruple, ſince this kind of friendſhip is not eſtabliſhed upon *reall vertue*, but *advancement* and *profit*. They are therefore to be condemned as *troubleſome* & *malapert fellowes*, and *ignorant* of what becomes them: who like (*Davus* the ſervant in *Horace*, during the *Saturnalia*, or *twelft-night-Kingdom*) deport themſelves inſolently, and reproach their *Patrons* all the year long, as he didin thoſe *Holy-dayes*.

'Twas Fortune that preferred thee;
In one nature we agree.
Curs'd chance! my vertue's my diſaſter!
I am all worth: but you're my Maſter.

This *language* is not to be admitted; and proves often *fatall*, where the *Patron* is as *powerfull*, as he is *proud*: Wherefore we ought not only to avoid *ſuch words* as theſe, but even to ſhunne *ſuch thoughts*. For if once a man

man *indulge himſelf* in thoſe *cogitations*, it is impoſſible but he will *leſſen his eſteem*, and conſequently *fail in his reſpects*, and the punctuality of his applications to his *Patron*, whereon depend this whole *friendſhip* and *relation*. They are no leſſe faulty, and incurre the ſame prejudice, who ſpeak ill of their *abſent Patrons*, and *derogate* from the reputation of thoſe they ought to *revere*, and from whom they draw great advantages. Theſe men certainly are *doubly peccant*, both becauſe they perform not *their duty*, and becauſe they *act repugnantly*, to what they *ſpeak*: for they *live with*, and are the *followers* of *one* to whom they doe not vouchſafe a *good word*.

They ought not to think ill of them.

Much leſſe to detract from them.

Thoſe alſo that are *proud* and *haughty* ought to decline carefully *theſe relations*, and friendſhips, for there is not any thing ſo inconſiſtent with *humble addreſſes*, *deference*, and *obſequiouſneſſe*, as a *proud mind*: for we *reſpect*, and *abaſe our ſelves* before ſuch as we allow to *precede* us in ſome *eminent* manner; but ſuch as are highly *conceited of themſelves*, will not *yeild the preeminence* to another. There is a gene-

Nor to demeane themſelves proudly.

ration of men in the world who are not more concerned for any thing, then not to *acknowledge any man* to be *better* then *they*, and who are so highly *opinionated* of themselves, that they think it unimaginable for *any person* to have acquired that *excellence* which *they* possess not. It is intollerable, to say *any one is a better man then they*; he is *only richer*, or *more powerfull*: they have a *lesser estate*, but are not his *inferiours*: it is death to them to think that *worth*, and not *Poverty* should *discriminate* them. These are *morose*, *melancholique*, and *peevish* persons, that keep *accompts* of *their* services, and *register* punctually *every bowe*, *cringe*, and *complement* they make, and every *good look*, or *acknowledgement*, they are *appayed* with. If they be at any time *reproved*, they produce their *table-books*, and evince thence that the *Congees* are *ballanced*, and that they are not *behind* in any one respect. *So much received*; *so much paid*. Oh insupportable vanity! Oh nicety not to be insisted on! These men ought to betake themselves speedily to some *other course* of life, least they spend their dayes in continuall trouble, and anxiety, and after all sit down *with nothing*, and *curse* their *sad fortune*; whereas *they themselves* only are to be *blamed*. He that would thrive in this employment, must be a *mild*, *flexible* and *good man*, who knows when to *lower his top-sayles*, make

make his *honour* ſubſervient to his *intereſt*, and to comply with *fortune* in all her exigences: and all this with a *cheerfull ſoule*, or at leaſt with that *ſubmiſſion* which diſcovers nothing of *conſtraint* and reluctancy: for no man *unwillingly ſerves* the perſon he reſpects. In this kind of *Friendſhip*, ſince *pride* in a *Patron* is a quality generally to *be ſuppoſed*, and ſince nothing gains ſo much upon it as *complaiſance* and *reſpect*; all *poore* and *meane* perſons ought to compoſe themſelves with the greateſt *humility* and *ſubmiſſions* poſſible: which they muſt manifeſt partly in *their words*, and partly in *their actions*. In all *diſcourſes* and *entertainments* they muſt uſe not only a *ſweet mildneſſe*, and *complacentiall addreſs*, but alſo *reverence*: being neither *rough*, nor *ſervil*, or *flattering*. Which conſideration imports them much, ſince they are certain to have frequent occaſions of *ſpeaking* with them, and there is not any thing *ſooner engages* the affections of a man then an *handſome addreſs*, and *gracefull language*. The firſt caution therefore that they are to obſerve, is, that their *language* be *full of ſubmiſſion*, *humility*, and ſuch *deference* as alſo tendeth to the *debaſing* of our ſelves: for we are born in an age that is *extravagantly complementall*; nor ought we to be

But to be humble in their addreſſes.

be *ashamed* of an *errour* so *universally received.* Custome *authenticates* our complyance, and to *repine* were *malepertnesse*; to *condemne* it, an *insufferable arrogance.* It would be tedious to *enumerate* particular advertisements; to have *intimated* them is sufficecnt.

Never to dissent from their Patron's judgement, or but modestly.

Moreover if at any time we are compelled to *dissent* from our *Patron*, and *oppose his judgement*, it must be done *warily*, and *very seldom*, and never but when it is *not possible* to *avoide* it: for it doth not become the same person to *dispute*, and to *obey.* It comonly happens at *meetings* and *entertainments*, there are *dubious* and *subtile questions* proposed and controverted: hereupon several persons of *great ingenuity and parts* expose themselves thorough their *imprudence*: for they *assume* to themselves the *whole discourse*, as if it were *their due*: they *object*, they *reply* sharply, they *propound*, they *confound* all things, they debate *obstinately*, *without end*, *without moderation*, (I had almost said) *without sence*: this is no signe of *respect*, or *deference.* I know they are apt to reply, how they are not to be blamed for *refuting* an opinion which an *ignorant*, and *illiterate blockhead* proposed: *he* started it on purpose to engage *them* in talk; the question was

intricate

intricate and not be reſolved in *few words*, and appertained to *thoſe ſtudies* in which they were ſingular: and therefore the *mentioning* of it could not otherwiſe be looked on, then as a *challenge*, or *eſſay* of *their abilities*; and therefore they ought not to be blamed for cloſeing with a *proffered opportunity* to manifeſt *their great parts* in ample diſcourſes. *All this I know: and I am further ſure*, that where the *debates* are like to prove *obſcure* or *tedious*, more will *ſtart controverſies* than will *hear them willingly ſtated*: many will *object*, that will not *endure contradiction*, and having *preſumed too much* upon their opinions and reaſons, hate a *confident* and *poynant refutation*. Theſe are to be entreated like *friends*, not *adverſaries*: every *advantage* is not to be taken againſt them, *nor every thruſt put home*, nor muſt *your whole ſtrength* be employed againſt them. There is *policy* ſometimes in *abandoning the Field*, and quitting a *certaine victory*: It is not neceſſary that we alwayes *overcome*, much leſſe *triumph*: Some *Conqueſts* have been *fatall* to the *victors*: or elſe the (*) *Victory of Cadmus*, had never given occaſion to the *Proverb*. But they will rejoyn,

(*) That is, *a victory attended with the ruine of the Conquerors*: as at *Thebes* the *Argives* were overcome by the *Cadmeans* at *Thebes*: but they drew upon themſelves a War afterwards with the *Athenians*, wherein they were over come. *vid. Eraſm. adag.*

that

that it is a difficult thing for a *man* whose *reputation* is more in *question* then the *thing discussed*, being *warme* with *dispute* about a thing he is supposed or particularly pretends to be verſed in, to reſtraine himſelf and to indulge or yeild to an *inſolent puny*; fleſh and blood cannot endure this. All this I queſtion not, or, if they will have me to doe ſo, I allow of. But I am ſure, and dare avow it, that *this procedure* is *hurtfull* to them: and multiplies *adverſaries*, rather than *converts*. No *generous ſoul will twice become the ſcorn of a Pedant*; but *hate* him as *uncivill*, whoſe *Learning* otherwiſe he would *commend*. It behoves therefore theſe kind of men either to *regulate* their *paſſions*, abate of their *pride*, and *confidence*, and *accommadate* themſelves to the *humours* of others: or confeſſe that they are *incapable* of this kind of *friendſhip*.

To be cautious in their rallying with them.

Let them alſo take heed how they *railly*, and jeſt with, *rich or powerfull* men, when they are not *inclined*, and in a manner *commanded* by them to *that familiarity*: for in *raillery* there is a *freedome* aſſumed, that agrees not, nay, which *repugnes* with *Grandeur*; and makes thoſe ſeem *fellowes* who are *ſuperiours*: Beſides there goes along with it a kind of *ſecurity*, and *preſumption* upon the others *facile nature*, which a *proude* and *great ſpirit* will

will not ordinarily *endure*. As for the *Taunts* and *Sarcaſmes* of *great men*, how *ſharp* and *biting* ſoever they be, they are to be entertained with a *ſerenity of look* and *mind*, or *pleaſantly retorted*, and otherwiſe diverted: there ought to be no *reſentment*, how paſſionate ſoever one be; nor how highly ſoever provoked: *no emotion of the ſoul*, or *countenance*, that may evince our *diſpleaſure*, or *diſguſt*: Great perſons think themſelves *condemned* of *folly*, when their *actions* are *diſallowed*: which as it is *inconſiſtent* with that *haughty ſpirit* and arrogance their *Greatneſſe* inſpires them with; ſo it is as *unbefitting* one that *depends* on their *favour*; who *owes all* his good fortune *to them*; and who ought rather to reflect upon the *unuſuall confidence* they have in him, by being ſo *familiar*; then be angry for their over-acting it. As for *ſharp replyes* and anſwers upon *ſuch jeſts*, they are to be eſchewed: it is not for the *ſame perſon* to avenge his *wrongs*, and to be *concluded* under *obedience*. This adviſe is the more *impracticable*, by how much more *pregnant* and quick a mans *wit* is: for *ingenious anſwers* ſo eaſily occurre to them, and ſo unawares fall from them, that without great *diſcretion* and command of their tongues, they are to be reckoned amongſt the *unſociable*; *and men of dangerous and unagreeable converſation*. It requires more then common

common patience, for a *man of ſpirit*, that is *alwayes armed*, and *often aſſaulted*, not to *ſtrike again*: yet this muſt not be done in theſe circumſtances: *No cauſe* can be juſt for a man to oppoſe his Superiours; who if they be *overcome*, hate; and eſteeme themſelves *foyled*, if *oppoſed*. Hence we ſee that being netled with any reply, they immediately change the diſcourſe, and avoide to intermeddle with thoſe that handle them ſo roughly. Now, as by *pleaſant converſe*, *continuall applications* and *gentileſſes*, the proud are gained upon: ſo they are loſt by *crabbed looks*, *melancholique ſilence* and *ſullyneſſe of humour*. Moreover, it is ridiculous for a man to *repine* at their *jeſts*, whoſe *injuries* he muſt *pocket up*. It becomes therefore *poor* & *indigent relations*, not only to take in good part the *ſallyes of wit* or even *immoderate jeſting* in their *Patrons*; but alſo to expreſſe a great *joy* and ſatisfaction in that *familiarity* they are admitted unto. And in the whole remaining courſe of their life, let them comport themſelves with that moderation, that their diſcourſe be agreeable, and ſo pleaſant as the *humour* of their *Patron* requires, or will endure: For this is the *chart* they muſt *ſayle by*: His *will* and *nature* is that *rule*, according to which they are to frame their ſpeech: And avoid *taciturnity* and *penſiveneſſe*, which (how *melancholique* ſoever he

he be) in a *dependant* is *odious*, and diſpleaſing, and commonly *ſuſpicious*: for it uſually creates in *Great perſons* an opinion, that ſuch as are *ſad*, diſlike their own condition, or the behaviour of their *Patrons*: neither of which is acceptable. They ought not alſo to be *talkative*, nor intrude into his *privacyes*, or *debates*: this is *irreconcileable* with that reverence that is due from *them*. Nor ought they to ſeek, or *miniſter occaſion of diſcourſe*; but ſtay till it be *given*, or that they be *commanded* to doe it, thereby to paſſe away the time; as often it happens. For it becomes thoſe, as *Great men*, to *chooſe* what matter they will hear *ſpoken* of; and he is juſtly blamed, who makes haſte to beginne a diſcourſe before his *betters*.

They are not to be of a ſullen humour, or aſpect.

Nor forward in diſcourſe.

I formerly inſinuated, that *in this ſort of friendſhip* men ought to avoid *flattery*: I now come to propoſe my reaſons for that *caution*; ſince others are of a different judgement, and thinke nothing to be more *advantageous*: They doe particularly recommend the *practiſe thereof*, endearing it by the *examples* of many *Illuſtrious perſons*, who have accumulated great riches, and obtained great honours *ſolely by*

Nor addicted to flattery.

theſe

theſe meanes. But how *gainefull* a courſe ſoever this may ſeeme, I thinke a man ought not *totally to eſloigne* himſelf from the regards of *honeſty* and *juſtice.* Though I doe not *binde* him up to the *rules* of that *exact* and *imaginary vertue* to be found onely in the *Books* of *Philoſophers*, and *harangues of malecontents*; yet there is a certaine *vulgar Morality* (like *Sterling coyne*, with a legitimate alloy, *currant* and *paſſable*) which I would not have them *relinquiſh*: nor, for any profit, to render themſelves *baſe* and *unworthy.* For, if once they *diſengage* themſelves from the *obligations* of *common honeſty*, even ſuch as *employ* them in *unjuſt actions*, or are *privy* to them, have no wayes to ſecure *themſelves* from *their* attempts upon *themſelves*, in *robbing*, or *betraying* them. A man may have his *particular failings*, yet whileſt he retaines a *due eſteeme* and reverence for thoſe *generall maximes* of *Juſtice* which ſupport *humane commerce*, & civill ſocietyes; he may be looked on as a *weake perſon*, but not *rejected* or *dreaded* as *abſolutely wicked.* But whoſoever makes light of *all thoſe conſiderations* which oblige *man to man*, and which repreſent him as *vertuous*; how ſmall ſoever his *miſcarriages* be, yet is he not to be *truſted* (however he may be made *uſe* of) nor admitted to bear a part in

Nor debauched in their morals.

any

any ſociety, much leſſe *in this* we ſpeake of. Beware therefore leaſt the *deſires* you have of *benefiting* your ſelfe, tranſport you beyond the rules of *honeſty*. Now, what is more remote from *honeſty*, than *flattery*? what more *generall artifice* is there to introduce and propagate *vitiouſneſſe* in men, then that? wherefore take heed,

Seeke not a paraſite *to be,*
Having profeſſed amity.

There is a very great affinity betwixt *flattery* and *obſequiouſneſſe*: and indeed it is univerſally true, that *vertue* & *vice* have ſuch a *reſemblance*, they ſometimes approach ſo neare each other, that it is hard to diſcerne betwixt them, or to diſtinguiſh one from the other: yet are there certaine precepts, which who ſo ſhall adhere unto, he ſhall preſerve his *integrity*, without *diſſerveing* himſelfe.

The natnre of an agreeable converſation.

There is a certaine *temperament of language*, and way of moderating our ſelves in our diſcourſes, which *vertue* being deſtitute of a *proper* and peculiar *name*, the *Ariſtotelian* Philoſophers thought fit to borrow an appellation for it from *Friendſhip*, and to call it Φιλία: becauſe thoſe who have that *ſingular endowment*, manage their converſation with all that *affa-*

bility, *courteſie*, and *obliging deportment*, which uſually intervenes betwixt *Friends*. And it conſiſts in this, that we neither *abſolutely reſigne* our ſelves up to the will and ſentiments of thoſe we aſſociate with, nor abuſe their civility with a *petulant behaviour*: retaining a *cheerefulneſſe* and *alacrity* of ſpirit without ſullenneſs; as *grave*, but not *auſtere*. To conduct us in this *mediocrity* and *temper*, it imports us much to know both *thoſe we have to doe with*, and *our ſelves*. And theſe, as all other things, are beſt underſtood, by *comparing* thoſe in which the *diſtance* is *remarkable*, rather then ſuch where the *diſtinction* is more *ſubtile* and *nice*: as *parents* and *children*, *private* and *publique perſons*. For that *addreſſe* which is *proper* enough to a *private perſon*, ſuits not with one whoſe *capacity* is *more publique*: what in one is *civill*, is *ſawcy* and malapert in the other. For a *ſonne*, to *reprove* his *Parents*, 'tis *impiety*: to cenſure a *Magiſtrate*, 'tis *rebellion*: to *condemn* ones *equall*, 'tis no *unbeſeeming* action. This *accommodation of language* our *client* muſt punctually obſerve. The *caſe* is *nice*; he walks betwixt two precipices; he muſt neither *ſervilely flatter*, nor be *clowniſhly moroſe*. All this he ſhall attain unto, if I be not deceived, without much difficulty, if in convenient place and time, he *enlarge* and ſomewhat *expatiate* himſelfe in the *praiſe* of all *ſuch qualities* and *actions*

as

as he findes *really commendable* in his *Patron*; and *never touch* upon any thing that is to his *prejudice* or diſparagement: To *admoniſh* and *reprehend*, it is an act becoming *equals*, not *inferiours*. And to *magnifie* what is not *praiſeworthy*, and which a man approves not, is the quality of a *baſe*, *treacherous*, and *deceitfull* perſon. All his diſcourſe ought to be attended with *modeſty* and *reſpect*, not onely becauſe this is the moſt becoming *civill perſons*, but by reaſon that *liberty of ſpeech* argues *us* to be too *ſecure* and to *preſume* upon the nature of thoſe we diſcourſe with. Let him avoid *obſcenity* and *ribaldry*: whatever is *wanton*, or *unſeemly*, let it not be ſo much as *named*; let every word, and every action ſignaliſe it ſelf by its *particular deference*, and manifeſt that our *client* is no way *indifferent* what opinion his *Patron* have of him. Let him alſo take heed that all his carryage, every motion of his, whither he *walk*, *ſtand*, *ſit*, or *eat*: that his *hands*, his *eyes*, his *voyce*, all have nothing that is *puerile*, *affected*, or *diſtaſtfull*: And not only *this* (which is an adviſe pertaining to another part of *morality*) but that all be managed with that *grace* and *mine*, as to *evince* how much he *reverenceth* and almoſt adores his *Superiour*. No *profuſe laughter*, no *outcryes* or *piercing exclamations*, no *rude* or *antick poſtures*, no *yawning*, or *frequent ſpitting*,

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nothing that carryes with it either *neglect*, *indecency*, or *exceſſive freedome*, is to be tolerated. All that *liberty* and *negligence of garbe*, which ſome uſe when they would be *debonaire*, and divert themſelves from ſerious cogitations, is to be confined to the *privacyes* of men of *equall ranke* and quality. Our *client* muſt never be ſo *intimate*: Not but that at *ſome* times, and for *ſome* while, with *ſome* perſons, a *pleaſant familiarity* and freedome may *happen* to ſucceed well: but *No man ever miſcarried through exceſſe of reſpect, or was diſgraced for retaining a conſtant and proportionate ſenſe of his Patrons Grandeur.* That *Great man* either *forgets*, or *abaſes* himſelf, who ſeeks his divertiſement with his *inferiours*; and when he either recollects himſelf, or reſumes his former thoughts, he apprehends the *abſurdity* and *danger* of theſe *condeſcenſions*: and his *ſerious* and *deliberate judgement* is, that a *client* who *complies* with his *Patron*'s weakneſſe, takes *too much notice* thereof; and may perhaps be induced *thereby* to *pretend* to a *further intereſt* in him at *other* times, then he *ever* thinks *ought* to be allowed *him*: hereupon to ſecure himſelf from the effects *his indiſcretion*: hath made him *lyable* to, he *eſloignes* himſelf from his *client*, who ought *alwayes* to remember his *own condition*, whatſoever his *Maſter doth*. Our *client* alſo ought particularly to ſee that he be

be *decently cloathed*, with that neatneſſe, and bravery, which ſuites with the *dignity* of his *Patron*. There is no *Great man* but prides himſelf up in the *oſtentation* of his *riches* and *quality*; and delights in perpetual acknowledgements of his *magnificence* and ſeeming felicity: Beſides, it is a part of their *ſplendor* and *luxury*, to be ſerved by men of a *good age*, *mine*, and *garbe*.

Of the garbe and attire of ſuch as are dependants.

Although that it is certaine that by their *language* and *addreſſe*, men render *very great* teſtimonies of their *reſpect*: yet it is *more amply* expreſſed by *action*. Wherefore it behoves *inferiour* perſons continually to attend upon their *ſuperiours*, and readily to *entertaine*, & *diſpatch* their *commands*: Nor is it *imprudently* done of them to uſe that *conduct* in rendering their ſervices, as to *endear* them to *their Maſters* knowledg by *ſuch cerimoniouſneſſe*, as may not *retard* their affairs, yet *evince* that *extraordinary concerne* and regard they have for their *Patron's quality*, as well as *perſon*. It is not only neceſſary that buſyneſſe be *done*; there is an *artifice* in making *known* that *it is ſo*: and many actions are *loſt* for not being *ſufficiently averred*. Great men multiply their dependances more out of *ſtate*, then *neceſſity*: there is a *grandeur*

Of their adreſſe and attendance on their ſuperiours.

in the pompous delivery and receiving a *meſſage*. An *affectionate diſreſpect* ſeldome *proſpers*: it obligeth not ſo much by its *ſincerity*, as it *provokes* by its *ill example*, and that diminution it carryes with it of the *Patron's* dignity. Wherefore let them not *ſlight* theſe conſiderations: let them be conſtantly in his *preſence*, and alwayes make up a part of his *retinue*: let them be *aſſiduous*, but not *troubleſome*. Let them not imagine that becauſe he hath *meniall* Servants & particular Officers for *common employments* and attendance, that therefore they are to be *excuſed* waiting. It is their *appearance* is requiſite, not their *ayde*. And *this circumſtance* hath nothing *ſingular* in it, but extends to all *inferiour perſonages*. Thoſe which *delay* and *trifle*, who *diſpute* or *transfer commands* (as more proper to others) who come *late*, or often *abſent* themſelves, introduce an *ill example* in this kind of *relation*: and being *ſpareing* of their *own* regards and applications, doe as it were *inſtruct* their *Patron* how he ought to comport himſelf *towards them*, and not to be *prodigall* in his *favours*, where their *returnes* are *niggardly* appaid. Who makes himſelf a *ſtranger*, ought not to wonder if he be *treated* as ſuch.

Of their fidelity.

In the *managing* of *buſyneſſe*, and diſpatch of *commands*, the firſt thing to be obſerved is a *great fidelity* and *integrity*: And that

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Of their prudence, and conduct in affaires.

They are to manage affaires according to the judgment of their Patron, and not their own.

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any exigency, for *them to ſigne.* Theſe men adhereing to theſe *rules* and *precepts* which they have framed to themſelves out of their own obſervation, reading, and converſe with learned and prudent perſons, very frequently diſpleaſe their *illiterate, humourſome* and *phantaſticall Patrons,* who account *the numeroſity of their periods,* and *Politeneſs* of ſpeech, *pedantry*; and all that is *Rhetoricall,* to be but *Academique impertinences,* and the *dotages* of ſuch as never underſtood the *World,* or *buſineſs.* Hereupon they blot out all that is *good* and *proper*; alter the whole deſign and *texture* of the writing, and deprave it according to the *capriciouſneſs* of their particular *phanſy.* What ſhould a man do in this caſe! what counſell muſt our *unfortunate Schollar* betake himſelf unto? I know none better, than that of *Euripides* in his *Phœniſſæ.*

Amongſt Fools thy wit diſguiſe,

how hard a matter ſoever it prove,

'Tis criminall then to be wiſe.

I conclude therefore that as in their *writings,* ſo in their *actions,* the *rule* they are to order them by, is their *Patron's approbation,* and allowance: This is the *ſtandard,* and meaſure they are to be *tryed* by; it is from *him* they have their *value*; as the Kings ſtampe

and

and Image makes of any *alloy currant* Silver. They ought not to be ſolicitous what is *truly* the beſt, nor perplexe themſelves with *ſcruples* out of *Divinity*, *Morallity*, or *Politicks*: Their *Patrons will* is their *Oracle*: his *pleaſure* makes *every* thing *juſt*, and *reaſonable*, and *prudentiall*: who underſtands this thoroughly, needs no other *Caſuiſt*, *Councellour*, or *Confeſſour*: Nor ought he to *ſatiffie* himſelf how *well* affaires are managed; but how much to his *Patrons ſatisfaction*. Let our *client* therefore learn his *Maſters humour* and *caprichioes*, as well as *intereſt*: let him informe himſelf of his *particular inclinations*, and paſſions, and the *extent* of his *reaſon*: let him know the *language* of his *frownes*, and *ſmiles*; and the dialect of his eyes, *in all circumſtances*. Then ſhall he be *accompliſhed* for this *Miniſtery*.

This is the *whole part* which an *inferiour* is to act; theſe are his rules by which he is to guide and move himſelf. They are ſet down in *generals*; but the more full illuſtration of them, and accommodation to *particular* caſes and accidents, is a laborious worke, and which each man muſt ſupply himſelf withall.

Rich and great men how they are to comport

As for the *rich* and *factious* they are much more to attend unto the ſubſequent rules and

directions

themselves towards their inferiour dependants.

directions: because that *power*, if not regulated by *wisedome*, disposes them to *greater follyes* and extravagancyes then others: And if they be for a while left to *their own wills*, without any checke or guidance, *vices* take *deeper* root in them (*as weeds in rich ground*) and afterwards growe too prevalent to be extirpated. For, what is it, that a man would not undergoe rather then subject himself to the *barbarous pride* and capriciousnesse of some persons, that I could name, but shall not? who are of so *odious* and insupportable a nature, that it is not to be wondered if even men of *despicable fortunes* and rank, choose rather to suffer their *present want* and penury, then *approach* or submit to them. But such as are *poor* and *indigent*, instead of a *Tutour* have the sense of their *own wants* continually to checke them; and that *necessity* which compels them to seek their advancement in the service of another, *daily* makes them apprehensive least they *loose* it: And, if they doe offend, the *miserable* shall never want such as will *blame them*. Let *rich men* therefore know, that they themselves are obnoxious to *Laws*, and that neither *Revennues*, nor *Dignity* exempts from *certaine rules*: Nature hath prefixed bounds to *paternall* authority; and it is *impiety* for any to exceed *them*. They ought

ought not to deſpiſe and ſet at nought all ſuch as they ſurpaſſe in eſtate, and to think that becauſe they are not *rich*, therefore they are not *men*. Nor are they to exact *all manner of ſervices* from *every client*; for though he be *not able* to ſubſiſt of himſelf, he is not therefore immediately to be *abaſed* and employed in the *meaneſt* and moſt abject *offices*. There are *differences* betwixt man and man, where *riches* intervene not: and in the *diſtribution* of their affaires, this *diſparity* is to be regarded. Even all *Great men* are not *equall* in dignity or eſtate, and as abſolutely as the *client* is to reſigne himſelf up to his *Patrons* will, and as *requiſite* as it is for him to do ſo, yet that *diſcrepancy* of *Great perſons* makes a *neceſſary diſtinction* betwixt the reſpects *due* to the one and other. Hence it is (that I may illuſtrate the thing more by the moſt remote compariſons) we *mortals* pray to *God* and honour him with a *pious devotion*; but ſhould a *Great man* demand of his vaſſals to *rear Altars*, and Sacrifice to him, and change their reſpects into their Religion: He were *mad*: And it is viſible that we pay not to ſeverall illuſtrious *Princes* the *ſame homage*, which the *Perſians* doe to their *King*. Wherefore, as it is the *clients* part to ſerve his *Patron* without repining, cheerfully, and ſometimes

They ought not to deſpiſe and undervalue them too much.

times without ſtaying to be called upon: So it becomes the *Patrons* not to abuſe their facility and complyance, nor to oppreſſe them with *punctilios*. He ought to remember, that thoſe he imployes, thoſe that ſerve him, are *not his Slaves*, but *Friends of a leſſer degree*; and as *mercenary* as they ſeeme to be, *fortune* and their own *wills* only, not *nature* ſubjected them to *him*. They are *free men*; *this* they *owe* not onely to the *Lawes* in being (which is manifeſt) but to their *birth-right*. If there be any ſuch thing as *naturall ſlavery* and *dominion*, it is where there is the like *difference* as betwixt *men* and *beaſts*: or where the *one* hath *abilityes* to direct, and the *other* is either *devoyd of reaſon*, or hath *only ſo much* left as, joyned with *abilities of limbs*, capacitates him to be *ſerviceably ruled*. But theſe we ſpeak of now under the notion of *inferiour friends*, they are not *meerly* qualified for porters, and ſuch *drudgery-works*, requiring onely ſtrength of Body, but they are *ſuch* as *merit* our commendation for their *induſtry*, *wit* and *experience*. Thus it is clear that they are *free*: and it is *cuſtome* (as I ſaid in the beginning) which gave this *relation* the name of *ſervitude*: which tearme, as *harſh* as it is, *uſe* hath ſomewhat qualified: for even *rich* and *Great men* when they accoſt their *in-*

They are free-men.

feriour

ferior acquaintances, in civility they profeſſe themſelves to be their *Servants*, becauſe it is the *faſhion* ſo to ſay. So that the word is now rather an argument of *regard*, then *ſervice* or *vaſſallage*. But ſuch as make enquiries into the *true nature* of things, ought not to *perplexe* themſelves about *words*. For as long as the *ancients* furniſhed themſelves with *Slaves* out of the *captives* taken in *Warre*, and that there was no *ſtanding Lawes* prohibiting that *uſage*, there was no great reaſon why they ſhould deſire to make uſe of *perſons* whoſe *freedome* rendred them *leſſe obnoxious* to their commands and *power*. Therefore it is no wonder if they did not affoord it a *peculiar name* in their *language*, which had *ſcarce* any place in their Country. But after that *Chriſtianity* had allayed the fierceneſs of mens minds, and abated the ſeverity of *unfortunate* wars: when it began to be reputed an *impious* cruelty to *enſlave* thoſe who were *ſervants to the ſame God*, & not ſo eſtranged in *enmity* as to *diſagree in Religion*; about that time it is probable that men of *inferiour rank* & extraction being in want, began to be retained by *greater* and *richer perſons* in *ſallary*, to diſcharge thoſe employments which *ſlaves* formerly underwent: and in proceſs of time it become ſo little *diſgracefull*, that even men

Not Slaves, however they be called Servants.

of

of better quality than ordinary, ſcorned not to take *wages* in like manner. But this cuſtome is not ſuppoſed to have prevailed till the declination of the *Roman Empire*, when their *authority* was extinct who had *power* alone to give it a *Latine name*. Hence it is deſtitute of a *convenient appellation*; and it is not worth the while to *invent* a new name, which it is *uncertain* how it will *ſuccced*; and therefore I ſhall be content to expreſs the parties by the names of *Clients* and *Patrons*; *ſervants and Maſters*, *ſuperiours* and *inferiours*: and the *relation* betwixt them by that of *conjunction*, and *friendſhip*, not that any of theſe are *proper*, but that they are *ſignificant* enough to cauſe me to be underſtood; And ſo I end this digreſſion.

Wherefore ſuch as depreſs their *poor Clients* even to *Slavery* (which, who is there that endeavours not to do?) they do not onely carry themſelves *inhumanely* and unmercifully; but act *tyranny*, and injuſtice. For how *Lordlike*, and *tyrannicall*, is it to walk abroad daily in the Garden or Grove, with a *numerus retinue* of theſe *friends* ſtanding on the right and left hand, with their hats off, and yet never ſo much as to vouchſafe them a *good look*? Let us reſerve this deportment for *Kings* alone: And for thoſe who are not *poſſeſſed* of *Empires* and *Monarchies*, let them not pretend

tend to *royalty*; leſt their *followers* hate them, and their *enemies* deride them. They are as *faulty*, who embrace every little occaſion to *quarrell* with their *honeſt* and well meaning *creatures*, in publick; to chide, to rail upon them when the errour is ſo little, that their *folly* becomes the onely *remarkeable* thing. What ſhould *this* generation do with *ſervants*? For, howſoever that it be not for *them* to queſtion the demeanour of their *Patrons*, or regret any thing; yet it becomes thoſe others to conſider what *preſſures* they lay upon them. As for thoſe who are ſo *furious*, and *paſſionate*, as to aſſault and beat ſuch as by their *Subjection* have not loſt their *liberty*: I think them fitter for *Bedlam*, than a *ſerious reproof*. *Ariſtotle* maintains, that betwixt the *ſervant* & *Maſter* there intervenes *no ſuch relation*, as to make the *former* capable of an *injury*: Every action (he ſaies) is *juſt*, nor will he allow any *duty* that he may *challenge* from *his Maſter*. Yet ſince even thoſe *ſervants* are *men*, he thinks it not amiſs if the *Maſter* regulate his *power* by the rules of *common humanity*. Nor is that ſaying impertinent; which the *crafty* and roguiſh *Sauria* makes uſe of to a *Free-man* who brawled with him.

Ought not to be beaten, or ill uſed.

I am a man, as well as you.

But

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I am a man, as well as you.

But

But *Aristotle* speakes of *absolute Slaves*; And, however, his discourse *abstracts* from *Christianity*. But our *Petty Tyrants*, that have not to do with *slaves*, treat *all* as if they were *such*, or indeed as if they were *not men*; yet do they *not* extend to *them* that regard they have for *their beasts*. For those *Horses* they use for their *Saddle*, or *Coach*, they take *great care* of *them*: they neither *over-worke* them, nor *harrasse* them out with *ordinary labour*, they afford them *rest*, and *ease* when they are *weary*; and cure them being *sick*, or *lame*: but for these *poor clients*, who hath any *regard* or care? who pities them being *tyred*, or looks after them being sick? Is there any condition more *deplorable*, or vexatious, than that of such as are *retainers* to *Great personages* in *Rome*? This deportment is not onely repugnant to *Christian-charity* and humility, but even that *common notion* of *humanity* which is imprinted in *every man*: let not therefore *excess of good fortune* destroy in any man the resentments of *nature*: nor let the apprehensions of their own riches and greatness cause them to forget that their *Clients* though *poor*, are *Freemen*. Yet must I confess that it is hard for a man to observe a *just conduct*, and to comport himself with an unblameable *evenness* in *all* occasions: Or so much as, upon mature consideration, to determine what that *equability* is according to

which

which actions are to be *regulated.* For there is a *great difference* in *perſons, times, ages, the nature of things, mens manners, cuſtomes of Countries,* and an infinite number of other circumſtances; all which *various emergencies* cauſe us to *vary* our *addreſſes* and regards: and which require a vaſt comprehenſion that they be quickly and duely underſtood. I do not pretend to a greater judgment then other men; nor do I think it neceſſary to boaſt of my intellectuals: ſince in this exigency there needs no more, then that men perfectly remember thoſe precepts I have already ſet down. And thoſe precepts are only two in number. *Viz. That men would not abuſe the obſequiouſneſſe of their Clients; but employ them with that tenderneſs and civility, and ſo adjuſt unto them their negotiations, that they may apprehend themſelves not to be indifferent to their Patrons, nor them inſenſible.* And, *That they doe not miſtake morofity for Grandeur; nor great paſſions for Greatneſs.*

Two great directions for Superiours, how to deport themſelves towards their Inferiours.

Wherefore as often as men have occaſion to make uſe of the ſervice of others in the management of their affairs, they are to conſider the *quality* of the ſeverall perſons about them, and with a regard thereunto, to appoint *mean* and *ſordid employments* to men of as *baſe* a *ranke* and *extraction*: They ought not (as

ſome prepoſterouſly do, (to their own diſparagement more then that of others) employ *Gentlemen* in their *Kitchins*, and ſcullery, or ſuch like mean offices. *There is not ſo much of ſtate in that ambitious humour of being ſerved only by perſons of worth; as there is odium, in debaſing them ſo low.* Nor ought they to ſet *weak* and *ſickly* perſons to *hard labour*: nor to cauſe the *ſerious* and *grave* to perſonate the *Antique* or *Buffoon*; nor the *aged* to act the parts of the *young* and *ſportive*. *Homer* doth not repreſent his *Achilles* ſo as if he employed *Phenix*, that reverend *old* man, to be his Butler; but fixeth this employment on *Patrochus*, a man of more agreeable years and ſpirit.

They ought not to be put upon unneceſſary troubles.

They are alſo to take care that they never impoſe an extraordinary truſt, or laborious command, on any, or engage them in any great quarrell, but upon a great cauſe, or inevitable neceſſity: For common humanity obligeth us not to make a Sport of, or any way to miſuſe the good nature, care and vigilancy of another. For even ſuch as are *abſolute ſervants* love not jeaſtings of ſo much trouble and importance to them, and commonly expreſſe their reſentments as bitterly as he in the *Comedian*.

Slave

Slave that I am to a capricious Maſter! Is this a time of night to go to towne in? This errand might have been reſpited till daylight.

Nor be put upon unſuitable employments.

Dædalus, that brave Engineer, is is ſaid to have had all manner of ſprings and Machines of iron wherewith mechanically to repreſent the actions of *ſeverall living creatures*: But, can any man imagine that he ever made thoſe to *fly*, whoſe nature it was to *ſwimme*? or, that having no occaſion to exerciſe his art, that he yet never permitted them to reſt, or ſtand ſtill? Let them then generally follow his example, and let them temper their commands with mildneſſe and moderation. As for thoſe who are *all imperiouſneſs*, who know no *requeſts* but what are *expreſſe commands*, who *enforce* thoſe ſervices they might otherwiſe *readily diſpoſe* of; with whom every *failour*, is *criminall*; and two or three *petty defects* an unpardonable *miſcarriage*: certainly theſe perſons are not onely very injurious and oppreſſive in their demeanour; but ought to apprehend their own condition, as being environed rather with ſo many *enemies*, then accompanied with a large retinue of *Friends*.

Nor two imperiouſly treated.

There is also in the ordinary discourse and conversation of *great men*, a certain *mil d neſſe* and *affability*, or rather staiednesse, and severity of temper mixed with *courteſy* and *jocundneſſe*, which whosoever practises, their dependents respect them as if they were their parents, and are so farre from detesting them as *tyrants*, that they have a great affection for them. It is incid ent to humane nature, to *hate* whom they stand in *fear* of. But oftentimes it falls out, that many men studying to avoid excessi ve *familiarity* (which they think inconsistent with that *port* and *Grandeur* which is requisite to their quality) they become *peeviſh* and *Surly*. It will be no impertinent digression from our present purpose, to relate the story of *Deioces* a *Mede*, who was endowed with very great wisdome. *Herodotus* tells us, how by reason of the great opinion hi, Countrey had of his justice, he was chosen *King*, and amongst severall laudable customes he put in practise, this was one, whereby he preserved the dignity and honour of that Throne he was newly advanced to. Whatsoever business he had to dispatch, or employment to conferre on any man, he managed it by others, so as that he suffered never any *Median* either to speak with him, or once to see him. This worthy personage

But with affability.

did

did apprehend very much leaſt he ſhould be envied by his Subjects: and that they who had lately been his equals, and lived in as good faſhion as he, would not patiently endure he ſhould poſſeſs that extrordinary ſplendor & honour they themſelves had conferred on him. This inconvenience he thought to remedy thus, if he not onely declined their *converſe*, but *preſence*; and accuſtoming them to the commands of a *King*, he extinguiſhed in them by degrees the remembrance of that *private condition* in which they had been better acquainted, and which they could never totally forget whilſt the memory of it would be renewed by conſtant *viſits* and *enterviewes*. Nor indeed is it unuſuall for men to *fear*, and highly eſteem thoſe things that are removed from their ſight, and with which they are unacquainted: and that Opinion, like a multiplying Glaſs, ſhould magnifie things at a *diſtance*. Yet would not I adviſe *Great men* ſo to demean themſelves towards their *Inferiours* and dependants, as if they were their *Brothers*; and make them their *confidents*: no, this *complaiſance* is peculiar to *reall* and *ſincere friendſhip*. But as I would not make this laſt my advice, ſo neither can I allow this *auſtere* and *ſullen* behaviour. It is true *Deioces* did well, conſidering

Yet not with too much kindneſs.

the *unsetledness* of his new *Government*, and the Persons he ruled over, who were *Barbarian* inured to *absolute Monarchy*: Yet certainly his condition was attended with a great many *unpleasant circumstances*; particularly, in that he deprived himself *of all society*, and that delight which ariseth from the *conversation of friends*. Wherefore let *great men* preserve their *State* and *honour*; yet by means agreeable; and when their leasure permits, let them willingly lend an ear to the applications of their domestiques, and reply courteously, and sometimes begin discourses with them, and raillywith them, and comport themselves with mildness: to the end that *they* may not altogether resent their ill *fortune*, but be satisfied that if their necessitousness reduce them to depend on *another*, yet their quality is not *absolutely servile*. Let no man abuse himself; *humane nature delights not in being subject*: All men affect liberty: and however many ambitiously and vainly *boast* and make shew of the *Empire* they have over *others*; wise men are content to *possess* it, without unnecessary *ostentation* thereof.

Their Serviceableness ought to be recompensed.

There are some who *maliciously* dissemble an affection for their *Clients*, to the end that they may oblige them more effectually in their service; they humour

humour them with *very good words* and *ſmall favours*, and having reaped from their induſtry and unuſuall diligence all advantages imaginable: they recompence the aſſiduity of their ſervices with a little good *language*. This is an unworthy deportment, and ſo farre from becomeing a perſon of worth, that it is not to be endured in any body: it is a *meer couſenage*; and if it be not *handſome* to defraud a man of his *money* and *eſtate*; it is *criminall*, to robbe a man of the *fruits* of his *labours*, and many years *attendance*; to defeat his *hopes*, and that expectation which we our ſelves fomented him in.

It is alſo a ſubtill but unjuſt artifice which ſome men uſe, who reckon it amongſt the *obligations* they have put upon their domeſtiques, that they have not evilly entreated them; they regiſter every *good look*, *civill word*, or *courteous action* of theirs, and think they have thereby ſufficiently rewarded them for all the *cares*, *troubles*, and *dangers* they have undergone for their ſake. I muſt tell thoſe perſons, that it was no part of their *agreement*, or *expectation*, when they firſt came together, *to be ſo ſerved*: they never propoſed to themſelves the requitall of one *courteſy*, or *civility*, by *another*; but that *riches*, and *reall profit* ſhould accrue to them by that dependance. And it is no *true payment*, if having

hired a *Fidler* to play all day at a feaſt, we ſhould when he demands his money, invite him to ſit down at the table, and to hear us ſing or play in the like manner, or perhaps more skillfully. No, he did not (as I may ſay) *lend* his *muſique*, to be repayed *in kind*, but *ſell* it.

Furthermore, as it behoves *inferiour relations* to put up the wrongs and injuries done them by their *Patrons*, and not onely patiently to ſupport their contumelies, but with complaiſance to behave themſelves thereupon: ſo on the other ſide, it becomes great *perſons* not to take notice of every *little failour* in their creatures, nor rigorouſly to inſiſt upon each *punctilio* with them, nor to cenſure them for every *petty defect* in their manners. For we may eaſily gueſſe, how hard or rather impoſſible a matter it is to find another man *entirely complacentiall* and never to diſoblige us in word geſture, or action: ſince we our ſelves, who ought better to underſtand our minds and inclinations than any other can, can never ſo conduct our affairs as to be alwayes ſatisfyed with the mannagement thereof. Wherefore let them take heed leſt they fall into too violent a paſſion, or too ſeverely reſent the defaults of their poor ſervants, as often

Every little default in them ought not to be reſented.

ten as they miſtake or erre in the diſcharge of their ordinary employes, or diſpatch not a meſſage ſo well, or fulfill not a command ſo punctually, or readily, as might have been expected, or wiſhed. There are many who are too rigorous herein; not imagining that it is much more eaſie to contrive than to put in execution a thing: and that how facil ſo ever it be at firſt appearance in the deſigning, yet many accidents and difficulties *i*ntervene, which impede and retard it's performance. Nor ought they onely to connive at, and pardon ſuch faults as be *purely involuntary*, or as humane frailty precipitates them into; but alſo diligently to examine their own breaſts, and to conſider whether they themſelves have well weighed all circumſtances, and that they are not either *in part* or *altogether culpable* for thoſe *defects*, which are imputed to their *poor ſervants*. For it commonly happens, that all the providence and forecaſt of the moſt wiſe and carefull ſervant becomes ſucceſſeleſs, and prejudiciall, thorough the indiſcretion, peeviſhneſs, inconſtancy of mind, and haſtineſs of humour in the Maſter. Which made him to cry out in that ancient Comedy.

Pardon, ye Gods! the deſtiny's too bad,
To be a Slave, and to a man that's mad.

Let

Let them beware therefore how they cenſur condemn, or otherwiſe reprove their ſervants, whenas they themſelves onely are in fault, and deſerve to be blamed.

Moreover whereas this conjunction is effected, and that men enter on this dependency upon no other aims and termes, as I have already evinced, then *hopes of advantage*: (without extraordinary regard to *particular inclinations*, or affection) *Great perſonages* ought to provide ſo for their *dependants*, that ſuch as ſerve them diligently and carefully, and ſignalize themſelves by their ſerviceableneſs to them, may not be defeated of their *recompenſe*, and and what they may juſtly expect. And as it is the duty of ſuch as are ſubordinate, and *inferiours*, not to preſs *too vehemently* in their own behalf, nor to urge their own concernes too much with their *Superiours*, but mildly to *inſinuate* the remembrance of them, or lightly to mention them upon occaſion: rather *ſuggeſting* them to their *memories*, then *importuning* their *juſtice*: For he underſtands not the *artifice* of *obſequiouſneſs*, nor the addreſs due to *Great men*, who treats them as a *Creditour* would his *Debtour*; who doth not *ſollicite modeſtly*, but *boldly*

Great men ought not to be unmindfull of the intereſts of their dependants.

Nor they too boldly to importune their Patrons.

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ſelves

ſelves to be *generous*, in all our *retributions*: to enrich or otherwiſe gratify our *affectionate creatures*, is not alwayes a *largeſs*: To be *great*, to be powerfull, doth not *entitle* us to the *abilities* of other men, nor authoriſe us to challenge all their performances as *our due*: We are redevable to them for what they have done for us, and do but in effect pay them wages for their attendance and employments under us. We ought to be as ready to *acknowledge*, as to make *uſe* of them: and to proportion our *ſentiments* and *munificence* to their zeal and *diligence*; and to imitate the earth in its products, which the more it is cultivated, tended, and lookt after, the more plentifull crop doth it yield the husband man. Hereby we ſhall not onely act a part befitting us, but acquire the reputation of *gratitude* and *liberality*: wherein one may obſerve, that more is gained then an *unprofitable* and inſignificant *applauſe*; For our *creatures* are thereby more fixed to our ſervice, and more devoted to our perſons; and others are inclined to embrace all opportunities of obliging ſo *ſenſible* and *good-natured Patrons*.

Such as are dependants, ought not to be ſtreightned in their diet or ſalaries.

Great men ought alſo (howbeit many think it a matter of ſmall importance) to take ſpeciall care that their dom

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ſtiques and inferiour friends be well provided for; that they be not ſtreightned in their *diet*, nor *poorly maintained*, ſo as to be reduced to *meane Shifts* whereby to victuall and otherwiſe accommodate themſelves, for it is *a part of the recompenſe* due to their *officiouſneſs*, and no act of *ſingular Grace*, that every one of them be maintained according to his quality. They which uſually *pinch* them in their victuals, or *totally diſcommon* them, like *ſlaves*, upon any misbehaviour, or neglect, are to be reprehended upon two grounds; both becauſe they *diſoblige*, and incurre the *hatred* and *reproaches* of thoſe *ſelf ſame perſons* by whom they affect to be *reſpected* and *commended*: and, for that they give the *world* juſt cauſe to *cenſure* them for *parſimony*, and *niggardlyneſs* towards ſuch men as are onely retained by them (there being no other reaſon imaginable, why they ſhould create themſelves that trouble and expence) and deſigned to augment their ſplendour, and poſſeſs the people with an opinion of their *generoſity* and *magnificence*. Beſides, thoſe very perſons finding their *ſmalleſt miſcarriages* and *peccadillos* ſo ſeverely examined, and their *deſerts* little regarded, they contract a *diſeſteem* for their *Patron*, and his ſervice; and at length abſolutely *deſpiſe him*. Nor do they ſtudy which way they may either

ther recover his *good grace*, or preſerve themſelves any way therein; but by degrees eſloigne themſelves from him: And, to ſpeak modeſtly in the caſe, *It is not to be preſumed, that any man cares to be beloved, or to love another, but for intereſts ſake.* Hence it is that few or none, but ſuch as are of the meaner ſort, will *condeſcend* to others, and become their *followers*: No; it is *profit* which cements, and *profit* diſſolves *this league*. It behoveth therefore *great men* to endeavour as much as they can to enflame their *dependants* with all *juſt hopes*, to endeare them unto them as much as it is poſſible, to the end that they may the more *cheerfully ſerve* them, and embrace their intereſts with ſuch confidence as becomes men who know *their own good fortune* entirely to be *joyned* therewith. And this they will effect, by treating them rather *civilly*, then *imperiouſly*; and by expreſſing proportionate reſentments and favours for their merits. But as the world goes now, moſt *great men* imitate thoſe Lawes which are none of the moſt prudent, though enacted by *ſeverall Cities*, whereby men are affrightned from *doing ill* by terrours and *penalties*: And they imagine it enough, if they make proviſion that no man escape *unpuniſhed*, or, at leaſt, obtain advancement by his crimes. I ſhould think it much more agreeable for them to regulate

regulate themſelves by thoſe Edicts which are by *Xenophon* termed *Royall Lawes*: by which Lawes it was ordained, not onely that *offendours* ſhould be puniſhed, but the *vertuous* recompenſed, by propoſing rewards to the *valiant*, and the *good*. Let *great men* therefore ſtudy to render their *dependants* abſolutely their *creatures*, and to make it heir *inclination* as well as *intereſt*, to adhere unto them. For, *Command* is then moſt *pleaſant*, and *obedience* leaſt *irkſome*, when it is eſtabliſhed upon the *clients devotion*, and not *deference* onely. As for that *Empire* which is founded upon *conſtraint*, and the neceſſitous condition of *repining vaſſals*; I believe it to be a *qualification* God conferres upon ſuch as he accounts worthy of that puniſhment whereto *Tantalus* is ſaid to have been condemned in *Hell*, where he was continually to languiſh under the dreadfull apprehenſions of a *ſecond death* continuall yhreatening him.

Diſcord ought not to be ſowed and fomented amongſt dependants

It is a *cunning* and *ſubtle deviſe* which ſome men have, of ſowing diſcord perpetually betwixt their dependants, and keeping them at variance. Theſe men fear nothing ſo much as tha their creatures ſhould hold a good cor reſpondenc

reſpondence one with the other and think the *worſe intelligence* they have one with the other, the better they ſhall have with them all *themſelves.* I ſhall onely demand of theſe *politicians*, and *Great* wiſe *men*, if their *dependants* be *wicked* and of a ſuſpected fidelity, why do not they *diſcard* or correct them, rather then jealouſly watch over them? If they are *men of honeſty* and *integrity*, why do they create themſelves an *unneceſſary* vexation? what great *exploits* can they do by the ſervice of ſuch as ſo little *underſtand one another*?

Wherefore let them learn the *Art of ruling*, and that *conduct* which is neceſſary to the *proper mannaging of power*: This is no eaſy and common matter, or ſuch as may be acquired without extraordinary attention: It comes not by *inſtinct*, nor is propagated by *generation*: to the obtaining thereof more is requiſite then a *great fortune*, and a *ſence of its neceſsity*: in fine, it is ſo tranſcendent a quality, that to ſpeak the truth, it ſeems to be placed above the deſigns and contrivance of mankind, and it is rather *a peculiar gift of God*, then the acqueſt of *humane prudence.* But the directions leading thereunto are not to be delivered occaſionally by a digreſſion in this diſcourſe; but

to

to be deduced from another Art, wherein whoſoever is thoroughly converſant and knowing, the ſame will neither faile in the *ſuitable Choice* of his inſtruments and *Creatures*, nor in his comport towards them; ſo as to effect, that they who *mutually* love and correſpond among themſelves like Brethren; may alſo agree to *love*, *ſerve*, and even adore him. Amongſt the documents of that Art, it is one great and wholeſome Precept, *That ſuch as are in power ought to aſſure themſelves of the affections of thoſe they rule over*: hereby their *Empire* is more *ſecure* and *ſtable*, and the *voluntary* ſervices of their *vaſſals* are not only more *pleaſant* to them, becauſe *unconſtrained*; but infinitely more *advantageous* to their *Rulers*, whoſe *intereſts* ſhall not be neglected *any way*, as long as their *perſons* are not *indifferent*, or *odious* to them. Whence it appears, how much they *miſtake* themſelves who live at continuall variance with their *families*, who not only abandon their concerns, & forget or ſlight their particular advantages, but depreſs, and oppoſe them, as if they were their *adverſaries*: whoſe ſenſe of the *unuſuall care*, *fidelity* and *diſpatch* of a good ſervant, prompts them not to *reward* or *preferre him*, but to fixe him to their adherence, by makeing it impoſſible for him otherwiſe to ſubſiſt: They imagine that he would be leſs their

friend, if promoted above the condition of a *ſervant*, that if once his Fortunes grow *conſiderable*, he will certainly either *totally proſecute* thoſe, or (if he be exceſſively generous and acknowledging) onely *intermix* their concernments with his own; and make that but a *part* of his care which is now his *whole employment*. I ſhould think it a much more wiſe courſe, to imitate as farre as poſſible (for the alteration of times, Religion, and other circumſtances hinder us from following the practice) the uſage of the *Ancients* who made *Freed-men* of ſuch as had faithfully ſerved them; thus we ſhould diſtinguiſh thoſe who *ſignalize* themſelves to us by their *induſtry* and *faithfullneſs* from *ordinary* and *ſervile Dependants*, and admit them to a nearer and more generous *friendſhip* or relation. Nor do I apprehend this courſe to be more prudentiall only, but more profitable. For, what *Farme*, or *Mannor*, yeelds ſo great and certain an income to a *rich* and *potent* Grandee, as an *entire friend*? what *profits* may compare with thoſe which many *Princes* have received from their affectionate *creatures*? How vaſt a difference is there in our relying upon *generous* and *obliged friends*, for ſupporting or carrying on of our affaires; & truſting our *Perſons*, and eſtates, in the hands of ſuch as have ſcarce the *appearance* of *friendſhip* to aſcertain them to us; no reality at all?

For ſuch who manage their parts and obſequiouſneſs, as they would *moneys*, which they do not lend *gratis*, but put out *to uſe*, are preſumed always to expect *intereſt*, and to regulate their addreſſes and applications ſolely by their *utility*, and *private gain*. Whereupon they ſerve *great men*, as *tenants* do their *Landlords*, who do not expend themſelves and their riches to imbelliſh their *tenements*, or to beautifie their grounds with *pleaſant Gardens*, Walks and Groves, Grots and Aqueducts; but contrive which way they may improve the Land to their advantage, and with leaſt coſt multiply their *preſent profits*: Thus, *they*, being retained *as it were* by wages and ſalary in the ſervice of Great Men *for a time*, ſtudy not *during that intervall*, how they may moſt benefit them, nor how they may beſt advance or ſecure their *power*, *riches*, or *dependances*; but how they may make the beſt of that opportunity for themſelves. But, when they are removed from the *ſence of gain* and particular emolument, and fixed to us by thoſe more generall and noble ties of *affection* & *handſome friendſhip*; they no longer act like *ſelf-minded Tenants*, but embrace allour concernments with ſame zeal and integrity as if they were their own, ſtudying rather to aggrandiſe themſelves by the greatneſs of their *Patrons*, than regarding their *annuall incomes*, and the profits that from

year

year to year accrue to them. Thus, having devoted themſelves to our families, and as it were cordially eſpouſed *our intereſt* once, they account nothing troubleſome, great, or hazardous, which is beneficiall to us; having poſſeſſed our ſelves once of their hearts, our intereſts are no longer *different*; they have but *one* important concernment, and that is, *for us*.

The commendation of this exact deportment of great Perſons towards their dependants.

Since it is thus; if we purpoſe not to reſign our ſelves wholly up to *pride* and *ambitious arrogance*; if we will not deveſt our ſelves of all *humanity*, and relinquiſh that nature and reaſon which diſtinguiſheth as much *man* from *man*, as from other *Beaſts*; if we intend not to degenerate into *bruitiſhneſs*, and growe perfect ſalvages; let us foment and nouriſh in our ſelves theſe *friendly inclinations*; let us put on an *amicable temper* of Spirit, and make it as much *our nature* as it is poſsible. Let us embrace an opinion which bringeth with it all ỹ inducements that the *greateſt profits* or *delights* can ſuggeſt. Man is a *Soeiable* creature, & it is not only our *wiſdome*, but a complyance with *humanity*, and thoſe *uncontrived, unbiaſſed ſentiments* which we *aſſume* not, but are *born* with, to proſecute thoſe means which erect and eſtabliſh an *agreeable friendſhip* & amity. This one circumſtance is ſo conſiderable, that they who harangue upon this

ſubject

ſubject, profeſs *no wiſe man can be entirely happy in a Wilderneſs* : that it is not in the power of *vertue, Knowledge,* or *Grace,* to felicifie the *ſolitary;* and that even *Heaven,* would ceaſe to be *Heaven*, and the *joyes* thereof be *diſguſted*, were it not for the *company* there, and that *innocent agreeableneſs of the Saints and Angels aſſembled together.* Nor is there any thing more *facile,* or whereto we are more *prone,* than vehemently to *love* and affect thoſe who *delight* us. Beſides, there is a great tie and obligation put upon the Spirits of men by dayly *cohabitation and converſe*, whereby they become united and leagued one with another: as we obſerve in *Beaſts*, which being bred up or uſed to feed together; the *Bruitiſhneſs* of their Nature hinders them not from reſenting the abſence, and miſſing their *former acquaintance.* In ſo much that I cannot perſwade my ſelf, but thoſe perſons do *violence to nature,* and injure *humanity* it ſelf, who do not *ſincerely love,* and communicate their good Fortunes with ſuch whoſe *fidelity* and carefullneſs they have *experienced,* whoſe *manners* and *humours* they allow, and of whoſe *affection* they are infallibly aſſured.

FINIS

Errata.

THe principall *Errata*, are those two following. Pag. 6. lin. 10 instead of *a good mine*, read *a disinteressed goodnesse of nature*. p. 11. l. 13. after *that power which another must*, insert *which another must supply: it is but fitting that these men should omit those impertinences*. The others of lesser note are p. 6. l. 6. *cabnets* for *cabinets*. p. 7. l. 16. *betwxt* for *betwixt*. p. 9. l. 17. *actons* for *actions*. p. 13. l. 14. *This* for *thus*. p. 18. l. 10. *tansported* for *transported*. p. 20. l. 4. *laeves* for *leaves*. l. 12. *thost* for *those*. l. 26. *uffice* for *suffice*. p. 31. l. 9. *his* for *their*. p. 37. l. 10. *age* for *equippage*. p. 50. l. 14. *Patrothus* for *Patroclus*. p. 56. l. 25. *neverso* for *never so*. p. 57. l. 2. *nota* for *not a*.

A Ca[illegible]s, of ſeverall ſorts, to be ſold
by [illegible]t the Turks-Head in Fleet-
ſtreet [illegible]ny of them Printed for him.

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